/275 cont./

756 another pajé, as though serving as an apprentice. It is not rare for a more famous pajé to attract more students to his school and to give them collective training (25).

25. Near Taracuá-ponta, in the maloca of Sussuaca, according to what Mons. Lourenço Giordano attests, around 1917, there lived a famous pajé who always had numerous students, so that they constituted something like a "Faculty of Native Medicine" in his hut. We also heard about a prestigious pajé from Iauareté, João by name, who on one occasion prepared five pajés in Melo Franco (river Papurí).

/276/ f) Preparation of the xamã /shaman/ (26).

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26. Report by the Taryana Indian from Iauareté, Vicente Joaquim Rodrigues, who took the course for pajé training.

[192] [778]

The preparation of a pajé is a long one. Besides the theoretical instruction they receive, they also use various magic substances and instruments, called Wîhîõ (27),

27. Wîhîõ is probably derived from WîhÍ, to smell, and, properly speaking, designates the substances that they inhale or smell, like the paricá /Leguminosae/, almost all of them of intense odor, some capable of going so far as to stupefy. Perhaps, by an extension of the meaning, the term Wîhîõ came to indicate also the container of these substances.

all of them of legendary origin, some of which are supposed to have appeared mysteriously, and passed on from pajé to pajé.

*192 /276 cont./

278 When an old pajé wants to prepare a son of his to practice as
756 pajé, he initiates the preparation during the first months, putting
• 778 on him, for three months, a Wɨhɨõ applied to the navel, Wɨhɨõ peomɨ kã̃ max-kõ̃-ré. This Wɨhɨõ is roundish in shape, of a hardened substance, the origin of which is lost in legend, according to
[262] what they asserted to us. During these three months the pajé must also have a light diet, as precaution, almost exclusively mingau and chibé.

Later, after removing the first Wɨhɨ /sic/, he fits to the navel, for some five months, the Axpá--khwɨ-re Wɨhɨõ, which consists of a small and roundish stone of quartz some two to three centimeters in diameter.

Later on he will apply to him the Wɨhɨõ of tucumã nut, well painted with carajurú /carajura/, called Õnõ̃ã́ Wɨhɨõ (in Taryana Enúki).

There is a Wɨhɨõ in the form of rappee, which the pajé and the apprentice inhale; this is the Kaxséri Wɨhɨõ, obtained from the sap of some plants (uacú /Monopterix uaucú, Spruce/ and others), subjected to evaporation until it is reduced to a very fine powder.

The most marvelous one is the Wɨhɨõ-phɨ (in Taryana Kerá-yúki). It is a small stone of crystal, with a cavity and its cover. According to native belief, this apparatus goes back to the origin of the tribe and, mysteriously, contains a substance with a delicate and pleasant perfume. The pajé, once in a while during his lectures, uncovers the Kerá-yúki, in order for this to give off that perfume, which contributes to enlightening the intelligence of his disciples, placed in a semicircle in front of him.

They say that at a certain time of the year, around April, this substance dries up and almost disappears, and by the months of June-August it begins to give off scent by itself.

756 /277/ At 15 years of age the intensive course for the office of
[582] pajé begins, and it lasts for 15 years more or less. The candidate may not marry until after finishing the course.

/316 cont./

287 532 764 The process of preparation is like that of the ipadú bags. Once the tururí trunk has been chosen, with the thickness and length desired, they start to beat the bark with a mallet until the ligneous part is eliminated and the liber becomes loose. Afterwards they sew it up with tucum fiber, giving it the shape of a shirt, close up any tears in it, and at shoulder height they fit the sleeves, also of tururí, through which the dancer introduces the arms. On the bottom part the tururí will be slit in a long fringe which covers the legs.

These masks bear varied painting, since, according to the native symbolism, each mask represents an animal. For this same reason each one of them has its name, and from one mask to the other the shape of the upper part (which covers the dancer's head, corresponding to the head of the animal symbolized) also varies.

These funeral masks do not constitute tabooed objects. We have found them kept inside the dwelling in the sight of everyone.

178 532 778 Until the end of the last century, states Koch Grünberg (Zwei Iahre, p. 236), the Taryana wore masks also at the feast of Wãx-tí. These, however, like the sacred instrument (cf. above), could not be seen by women and children.

We have, moreover, found masks among the Ide-masã of the Komé-ya (tributary of the river Pirá-paraná) which are not tabooed objects, not even the one called Waxtí (cf. above, IV - 2, h), since they are in the sight of everyone, and the children, with all freedom, use it for their games.

4. Religion.

a) Difficulties.

177 771 This subject constitutes one of the most difficult chapters of the ethnography of these tribes. In other points the influence of the civilized is more superficial and soon disappears when the contact with the whites stops and the native returns to the life of the forests. Or it is easily recognizable by the material

4: Silva--475 M-4,5 (1947-1958) 1962 SQ19 Tucano SQ19

/321 cont./

121 /Footnote 5 cont./ If he conceives it as personal potency, or better "spiritual Being," whom he respects and propitiates by the cult, we then have a religious cult and a Religion. Now it seems to us that we have found indications, even though vague, of a cult and a Religion in the tribes of the Uaupés.

346 Taken in the first meaning, it is affirmed that the Indians of the Uaupés do not have religion, since neither temples in which to worship God (6)

175 346 778 6. This absence has been noted since the time of the discoveries. It is true that Frei Gaspar de Carvajal ("Descobrimentos /Discoveries/," p. 51), describing the voyage of discovery of Francisco Orrelana /sic/ in 1540, speaks to us of the cult of the sun, with temple and altar: "On this day (Monday after the Feast of the Holy Trinity, June 5, 1540) we moored at an aldeia of medium size, where the people were waiting for us. There was a very large plaza there, and in the middle of the plaza a large plank in a square of ten feet, painted and sculptured in relief, representing a walled city, with its enclosure and a door. On this door there were two very high towers with their windows, the towers with the doors facing each other, each door with two columns. This entire work was supported on top of two very ferocious lions, which were looking back, as though wary of each other, and supported it on the forelegs and on the claws. In the middle of this plaza there was a hole where they put down, as offerings to the sun, the chicha, which is the

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[CONTINUED ON PAGE 477 ]

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/footnote 6 cont./ wine that they drink, the sun being what they worship and have as their god.

"This whole edifice was a thing worth seeing, the captain and all of us admiring such a remarkable thing. The Captain asked an Indian what it was and what that plaza meant, and the Indian answered that /this footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ they were subjects and tributaries of the Amazonas /Amazons/ and that they provided them only with feathers of parrots and guacamaios (araras) in order to cover the ceilings of their adoratories. That the povoações they had were in that style, keeping it there as a remembrance and they worshiped it as an emblem of their mistress, who is the one who governs the entire land of the said women. There was also found in this plaza a very small house, inside of which there were many vestments of plumes of different colors, which the Indians wore to celebrate their feasts and to dance, whenever they wanted to rejoice in front of the plank already referred to, and there they offered their sacrifices for their wicked purposes.

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"We soon left this aldeia, then finding another, very large, which had the same plank and division."

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This among the tribes of the mouth of the river Nepo. And about the region of the Amazonas he tells us of "Adoratories and houses dedicated to the sun, which they call caranaí, and that these houses are floored on the ground and up higher, and that the ceilings are covered with paintings of different colors, that in these houses they have

*192 /337 cont./

534 Mĩrĩ is probably from the same root as mĩrĩ, which means drowned, immersed, hidden under the water (44).

> 44. We were not able to learn of any sign of special veneration toward the water of the rivers. Nevertheless it is in the water that they hide the sacred instruments, an indication, so it seems to us, of their original matriarchalism. Just as the human being comes from the maternal liquid, so does Wĩx-tĩ appear for the feast, coming from the water, represented by the instrument Mĩrĩ. According to legend, the first human beings came from the water of the cachoeira of Ipanuré. We have observed, besides, that while bathing the natives immerse themselves a few times. Likewise when our oarsmen jump out of the canoe in order to drag it across the rocks, they also immerse themselves, even when there would be no need for it. When they swim, we have noticed that they prefer to do it with the face immersed in the water.

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• 778 Hence the concept of occult, sacred. We have heard talk of objects that were mĩriã, that is, occult, mysterious.

276 Tobacco is a magic substance. As a matter of fact, it
778 is one of the principal and most used curing methods of the paje. The smoke from the cigar can neutralize the malefices, drive away the storms, or attract them to a certain place, has an exorcising force in births and puberty initiation. For this
[855] reason it is even given to children three or four years old to smoke, at the feasts as well as outside of them.

796 /353 cont./
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Those who feel tired go to sleep. In the morning they take their bath, drink their mingau, and leave freely, that is, not all at once, but without a formal farewell, in small groups. Stradelli (Vocabulário Nheengatú-português, entry Tauúcurí) tells that he saw them all leave solemnly in another procession as far as the landing place, as at their arrival.

b) Poosé with the mysterious instruments -- flagellation.

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According to the statements by the Tukano pajés Henrique from Japú-igarapé and Marcelino from Juquira (river Uaupés), the sacred instruments, or mĩriá (juruparís) (62),

62. A young man gave us the following explanation: "This instrument is very old; the one who found it was a man who had a son and two daughters. The daughters stole the instrument, and a bird played it very well. Now fearful that they might steal it again, they do not let it be seen, nor do they tell this story in the presence of the women." This deficient information reminds one of the legend of Uaracapá (cf. "Lendas do Uaupés /Legends of the Uaupés/").

are used only during the poosé (dabacurís) of fruit (cucura, patatuá, cunurí ucuquí, etc.), therefore not during those of fish (waí poosé). Even during those poosé, instead of the mĩriá, one might sound the flute mawáko (cf. 3, c (3c) ), as the Christian povoados closer to the Missionary Centers generally do. As we have indicated above, there are two types of mawako, both of imbauba, the larger one of about 30 to 40 centimeters, like a common fife, and blown by the upper orifice; the smaller one of 10 to 15 centimeters, with an orifice in the middle, laterally, by which one makes it sound. Two of the dabacurís that we attended in Iauareté were held with the latter.

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They organize the procession of Wãx-tĩ, which will take the offering, as was described above, from the landing place to the maloca, a procession in which only those of the masculine sex who have gone through the puberty initiation rite participate. They walk naked, all painted, in front, hanging from the waist, the waxsó-ro (or tanga of tururi, see VII 3, d (2) ), sounding the instruments, which at the same time are shaken up and down, and with lateral movements and contortion of the body. The shape of the instrument (65),

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> 65. It is elongated, wrapped in the inner bark of tururi, which in Tukano is called waxsó-kõ (perhaps from the same root as waxsó, semen; see Note 41, VI-3, a). Koch Grünberg (Zwei Iahre, 69) tells that on the rocks of the cachoeira of Hipada (Uaupuim-cachoeira, on the river Aiarí, tributary of the Içana) he found a representation of Kúay, son of Yaperikuli, with a long penis. It is proof, it seems to us, of the connection between the cult of Kóay, or Wãx-tĩ of the Tukano, and that of the phallus. Perhaps one is even justified in seeing a phallus in the instrument, and for this reason it might be a symbol of Wãx-tĩ or Kóay.

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the movements they give to it, the body contortions of the participants, all the circumstances of this procession and the sexual liberties that go on during the feast, bring it close to the phallic processions of classical antiquity in the cult of Bacchus, and these native feasts well deserve the name of "Phallustanzen" /Ger. "phallus dances"/. There is even a similarity to the paroxysmal flagellations of the cult of Cybele of Greece and Rome, and of the Mediterranean civilization in general.

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Indian playing the mĩrĩ (jurupari)

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Always playing the mĩrĩá, the men surround the maloca where the women and children are shut in. All of them leave by the back door, while the men enter the maloca by the main door. Now the men shut themselves inside and for about half an hour play the mĩrĩá. Other instruments are not played in these circumstances. Afterwards the mysterious instruments are hidden in another hut, or in the forest, from where, at intervals, some men play them during the dances.

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534 At the great feast of Wãx-tĩ, the most solemn part is forbidden
562 to her. She can not witness it, she can not see the mysterious
• 778 instrument, under the penalty of death.

She must not know the great tidings about the origins of the
784 tribe. We have the impression that the most perspicacious of the
796 women might know almost all that the most accomplished men know about the legends, but with the conviction, painful for them, of not knowing a great deal and the principal part. As a matter
[123] of fact, we have heard the same legends told by /424/ men and women (31).

> 31. No woman could tell us the origin of the instrument Mĩrĩ. In order not to wound the susceptibilities of the natives, we did not let them read this legend, which the men had told us in confidence, or see the instrument tabooed for them.

The totality of the men know nothing more than the women. They have only one advantage: having seen the mysterious, sacred instrument, the Mĩrĩ, and having made it sound. For their part, perhaps all the women imagine that the instrument that the men sound is really Wãx-tĩ.

562 More than anything, however, the moral decadence, this
831 indeed, is maximal in the native woman of the Uaupesina tribes. Carrying the defects of a moral perversion perhaps millennial, she feels the sexual impulses commandingly. The customs facilitate their satisfaction and, therefore, also their aggravation. But, for this same reason, they put them at the mercy of the males, whom they must always heed.

[835] Daughter, and later mother, the customs go so far as to impose on her incest with a religious character. In the exercise of these relations, of course, degrading practices will not be lacking.

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881 562 are flogged on the back with reeds four times by the Komũã, keeping their arms crossed on the chest, and they can not cry (64).

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64. We were told of a young man who could not stand the blows and, feeling humiliated and scorned by those of the tribe, had to leave and place himself at the service of the whites in S. Gabriel.

Some child may hide in order to dry his tears, said an informant.

Handfuls of pepper are put in their mouths, and they are ordered to chew them. When there are several, they are arranged in a line, and with a stick they dig a hole, into which they are later going to spit. Not hitting the hole will be a reason for punishment. At dawn they take a bath in the river; upon returning, they drink a little Kaxpĩ. *[192]

They are obligated for the great fast, be'tisé, and their obligatory food is the larvae of the wasps.

562 869 881 They spend whole hours sitting on the ground, listening to the pajés narrating the traditions, telling the legends, teaching the obligations as members of the tribe, husbands, and fathers, giving advice, fixing the relations with the neighboring tribes. These instructions are intermingled with caxiri and with the apprenticeship in the fabrication of the baskets, fishing nets, and other tasks of the men.

[534] [778] While narrating the stories of the Mĩrĩã, they place one of the mysterious instruments beside each boy, so that he can observe it well (65).

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65. The instrument is an essential element for the male initiation. Besides the positive information obtained, it says the very name of the rite: "Na porá-ré mĩrĩã-mẽra a'mo-yẽrá," as the natives express themselves, that is, initiation of the sons with the mĩrĩã. This is also the opinion of Koch G. (Z. I. 220).

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869 /438 cont./
881 It has not been reported that these Indians might have the instru-
[534] ment "berra-boi" (bull-roarer).
• [778] They must show proof of benefit from these instructions;
otherwise they are beaten by the Komũã. This course, although
short, is nevertheless intensive and exerts a great influence on the
[756] young men. /439/ Fear of the pajé grows in them (66),

> 66. One of the informants strongly insisted on this great fear of the pajé, because, although he does not beat them directly, he would order that the elders, the Komũã, do it.

they realize that they have ceased to be children, become serious, grave, showing a certain pride in their behavior, because now they are perfect citizens and able to form a family.

562 The end of this course is the incest with their own mother,
835 in the presence of the father and the pajé or Komũ, so testified
881 natives of several tribes. This rite marks the start of the public sexual life, because up to this time they can only practice it secretly.

562 b) Course of female initiation -- Mõ-yõãsé (67).
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> 67. It has been reported that it is also practiced, and with special solemnity, among the Caboclo descendants of the Coianá Indians in the interior of the forest about three kilometers from S. Joaquim do Coané (mouth of the Uaupés). We heard the description that follows directly from persons who went through the rite, two of them immediately after the initiation, being able not only to photograph one of them with her hair cut off, but even, through the offer of a dress, obtaining the hair. Since the informants belonged to ten different tribes (Tukano, Pirã-tapuya, Taryana, Kumãdene, Karapanã, Tuyuka, Desana, Wanana,

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secondary zone produces supplemental crops only. Gourd provides household dishes, while tobacco, *mihi*, and coca are for ceremonial purposes.

The plaza consists of two clear spaces, a front plaza that is at the entrance to the house, and a rear plaza that is an extension of the kitchen area. The front plaza is a ceremonial site. It serves for the staging of dance formations and is a gathering place of the men.

Ideally, a front plaza is large, clear, and clean. Its appearance speaks for the quality of the house, for its prosperity, for its high morale, and for the excellence of its headman. It is the headman who will insist that the plaza be kept clean. Women are not barred from the front plaza, but it is definitely a male zone with sacred connotations. The medicine man does his curing on the front plaza. By contrast, the rear plaza is a female zone and is secular. It is often littered with the debris of past meals and abandoned and broken household utensils, shards, and frayed basketry. The women assemble here for their own gossip. During important ceremonies, when the sexual demarcation is accentuated for ritual purposes, it is the rear plaza where women guests are received. The rear plaza is demarcated even when the house is still a mere skeleton under construction. A visitor then may have no obvious clue as to which is front and which is back. If he should make an approach by way of the rear plaza he will not be received until he realizes his error and comes around to the front. In just such a situation I have seen the occupants of a house ignore a guest who made this *gaffe*. When he did recover and came around to the front he was received with as much formality at the bare frame of the house as he would have after it had been fully completed.

Finally, the river. The river is sacred to the sib, and is in that sense a male zone. Men fish in the river and hunt along its shores. They hide the sacred ancestral trumpets along the shore and bathe to the music of the trumpets before dawn to receive strength from the ancestors. Ordinary connubial coitus takes place well before dawn at the river's edge, where chances for conception are considered to be better. Again, to call the river a male zone is not to say that it is restricted against women. Women have access to the river for bathing and for washing. But it is not their domain.

During the early part of the day, from just after sunrise until the high heat of the early afternoon, a community gives the appearance of being altogether deserted, or, if the men are not hunting or fishing that day, it appears to be an all-male community. The men are then

chicken feed. The *Bahúkiwa*, cited by Koch-Grünberg as maize growers, had no tradition of having cultivated anything but bitter manioc as their principal crop.

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512 in or around the maloca, loafing, jesting, or in jovial groups working at small manufactures such as basketry. It is the wives and their daughters who are dispersed, each in her separate garden, and who then return in the heat of the day, tired and subdued, to a house that is gay with the laughter and chatter of the men.

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[361] In the recent past, no more than a generation or two ago, the inner zone of the community was separated, indeed virtually isolated, from the manioc gardens by a ten-foot-deep defensive moat set with sharpened stakes. Tree trunks crossed its steep walls to serve as narrow foot walks for the sure-footed women. At night, or in anticipation of an enemy, the footbridges were withdrawn. The house and the plaza then were an inner citadel. The moat protected against surprise attack. When enemies were sighted or their presence announced by the
712 angry growling of the dogs they were met as far from the residence
725 as possible, and the moat served as a defensive line to cover retreat. The strategy then was to lure the attackers to fall into the moat while the defenders slipped across their secretly placed bridges. If the people felt themselves to be overwhelmed they scattered to safety through the dense forest, abandoning house and possessions. (Houses still have an escape port at a side wall facing the forest.) But if they were confident they left the women and children behind in the house with
[123] a small guard. I had the privilege of this guard duty on one occasion. I was instructed to cover the escape of the women and children if need be. Fortunately, there was no need.

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504 The canoe landing is little more than a level stretch of beach where a canoe can be pulled up out of the water. It is also the site for bathing, for drawing water, for washing manioc roots. It is a port. One rarely comes upon a community by land. Visitors pause at the landing to wash, adjust their apparel, and freshen up face and body paint before beginning the climb up the path leading to the plaza.
504 Like the plaza, the orderliness of the canoe landing denotes the state
574 of morale of a community. Some householders have carved steps into
[417] the clay bank, lined them with split logs, and provided a rail. Guests
[576] are never received at the landing. Courtesy requires that guests be allowed the privacy of arrival, and the hosts discreetly retire to the plaza to await them. There are ceremonies in which the arrival of spirit beings is an important feature. On such occasions the men
504 who are to enact these beings use the canoe landing for donning
796 masks and for other preparations. On these occasions, too, the canoe
[778] landing is a sanctuary from which all unauthorized persons discreetly retire.

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833 Before dawn the canoe landing is the favored place for marital

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masks are generically known. Koch-Grünberg (1906a) has argued that they are sacred, citing as evidence that after the ceremonies the masks are burned. Many masks, however, are spared at the insistence of children who wish to play with them, and some masks are spared and used as storage sacks. Sanctity, I would say, is attached to individual masks, and is the sanctity of the being represented and not of the mask itself. Women, it is true, do not handle the masks, not out of taboo but rather out of the feeling that the masks are in the masculine domain. The masks represent spirits who are called generically *takahèdekokũ* (bark-cloth spirits). These spirits are visible only to the shaman.[3] All masks have a common basic shape, a large triangular sack that fits over the head and covers the body to the knees. Armpits are always cut out, and sleeves that come below the elbow are sewn in. The bottom of the skirt is stiffened with a circular hoop, and sleeves and skirt are hung with bark fringes. The masks have a head section, a middle section, and a bottom part. The head section is ordinarily painted with a face design that has eyes and a nose but not necessarily a mouth. Two eye holes and a nose hole are sometimes torn through for the wearer's convenience and do not correspond to the painted design. In some masks the head section is soft and in others it is surmounted by a calabash, painted brown or black, depicting a skull top; or the calabash itself has a face design painted on it and depicts, therefore, the face. The middle section is divided into several panels, half of them at the front and half at the rear. Each panel is painted in a geometric pattern that depicts the characteristic body features of the being that is to be represented. Fish, for example, have scale designs, and birds and flying insects wing designs. These designs are painted with great care by men who are particularly proficient. They follow traditional forms rather casually, however, each artist giving his own interpretation. The Cubeo do not quibble about the details of design. The fact is that no one can identify a particular representation with certainty without knowing who has made it. Only some of the masks, such as Jaguar, Butterfly, and *Abũhuwa*, are distinctive enough to be immediately recognizable. These masks, incidentally, also seem to be the most important.

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The use of ceremonial masks is common enough in South America, as Professor Alfred Métraux (1948) has observed, but we have as yet little information as to their meaning, nor do we know their full distribution. What is certain, though, is that masked cults have

[3] Koch-Grünberg (1906a) has observed that while the animal represented may be harmless, the spirit itself is magically powerful.

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765 273 152 Drinking at the *öyne* is disciplined and follows the emotional gradient of the ceremony. On the first day, which is intramural, the mood is somber and little chicha is taken. On the second day, when guests arrive and the mood is anger-grief, the drinking is still slow.

[574] Guests receive the welcome offering of chicha after their third entrance into the maloca and thereafter they drink during all intervals between dances. Formal drinking begins two hours before sundown.

765 273 276 152 The moment is signaled when the hosts brings in *mihi*, the symbol of intoxication. Only the older men take the potion. Thereafter all drinkers are free to grow excited. The elders remain restrained, however, since it is their role to license the excitement of others. They describe their own intoxication as an inner state. They feel a change in mood, they see color visions, but they do not overstep to overt excitement. That is the role assigned to the younger men.

766 273 276 152 562 The rate of drinking and the shift in mood gains momentum in the course of the interplay with the women. Women drink as much as men, but do not take *mihi* and do not get drunk. Their excitement is imparted to them by the men. Thus, the men drink to initiate excitement; the women drink so that they may react. When the men are not among them the women sit passively among their young, the dogs, and their household goods.

765 276 •[778] *Mihi* has magical power which the bearers portray dramatically. They pretend to stagger under its weight because *mihi* has power to fell a man. The people I asked did not know, however, why the bearer of *mihi* pranced with his torso bent forward and his knees kicked up high. The bearers whisper *he he he* and then whistle. These are the sounds of spirits and they are the same as the sounds made by the guests when they circle the ceremonial remains of the deceased. A bundle of *mihi* vines is laid with the ceremonial remains during this dance. From a roof beam at the exact center of the house, where it overlooks equally the male half and the female half, hangs a vulture figure. The body is an ear of corn, the head is carved of wood, and the spreading wings and tail feathers are made of old basket fragments. The bird hangs like a mobile. It is said to be "drunk" on *mihi*, and it presides over the *öyne* to give the proper spirit of intoxication. The vulture of intoxication is the patron, so to speak, of the *öyne*.* Mobiles of other birds are also hung about the house, as are painted images of fish. I did not learn the significance of these.

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* The vulture is thought of here not so much in the sense of its being a carrion eater, but for its quality of soaring. Compare *kurd* (vulture) with *kawdno* sky.

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771 769 ever, does not compel them to make the sib child grow. The Cubeo think it absurd to suggest that the *Bekûpwänwa* might need any urging to do for the sib what needs to be done and what they are capable of doing. It is impossible for a Cubeo to say that the *Bekûpwänwa* have withheld a benefit or that they can be made to do more under 771 769 some circumstances and less under others. What is required – and the Cubeo do not say that the *Bekûpwänwa* have set requirements – is 787 that a proper mode of social intercourse be established and maintained. The spirit and the manner of social intercourse must be correct, however, although not letter perfect. The spirit in which the social intercourse is carried out is more important than the ritual act. Many Cubeo ceremonies are abridged because, as they explain, the mood was wrong. Guests who should have come did not, and in the feeling of disappointment the ceremony is cut short. An error in a chant, in a dance, in a song, or in a ritual sequence is of no importance. 771 Failure to conform to the rules of social intercourse with the 769 supernatural beings, such as the Ancients, may have serious conse- 784 quences only if the neglect is deliberate. In any case, *Bekûpwänwa* do not punish. They only withhold. In the case of the boy who ran away from his whipping at the hands of the *Bekûpwänwa*, my informants assured me that he would not be deprived of a year's growth. Since they, the elders, were prepared to forgive the youngster his uncontrollable timorousness on this occasion, the Ancients, they knew, would do likewise.

771 The Ancients are not referred to as "spirits." The term for spirit 769 is *dekókû* and has, for the Cubeo, a more alien connotation than the [776] term *Bekûpwänwa*. The Ancients or the ancestors are referred to by name so that association with them conveys directness and immediacy. I believe that it is for the sake of maintaining a sense of immediacy and of directness with the *Bekûpwänwa* that the Cubeo do not place them in some ancestral abode in some other world. The [778] Ancients, to be sure, are known to have been buried in the ancestral rocks from which they emerged, at the rapids of Uaracapuri and Yurupari. But the burial place is not their place of abode. Strictly speaking they have no place of abode. The flutes and trumpets that embody them reside in a *caño* near the main stream of the sib. The Cubeo do not, however, claim that these sacred crypts are the resi- [775] dences of the Ancients. The ordinary dead, on the other hand, do have an abode. The point of distinction for the Cubeo is that the ordinary dead have been sent away and are no longer welcome, whereas the Ancients, who are not spirits of the dead in the ordinary sense, are always welcome.

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The spirits of the dead remain bound to the phratric system. All the dead of the sibs of a river are joined together. While the individual spirit has his sib identity, the sibs do not exist in the afterlife as social entities. The *habikü* of the dead is *Mavitcikori*, grandson of *Djurédo*, an Ancient of the *Orobawa* and of other high-ranking sibs such as the *Heheneua*, who was the first headman at Uaracapuri. However, the Cubeo have no great interest in speculating about the life of the spirits of the dead, since, except for the Ancients, they have no formal relationship with them. With the dead, the point is to break the bonds, and for this reason alone Cubeo speculation about the spirits of the dead is at best a moderate one. I have already related the story of the woman who, having died and been buried, returned to her husband and pleaded with him to take her back. It is said that if the husband had accepted her she would really have come to life, but that because he drove her away people who die remain dead.

In Freudian theory, fear of the dead is a projection of ambivalent feelings toward the living. From this point of view one would have to assume, most incorrectly, that the Cubeo are markedly lacking in the ambivalences of love and hate. The Cubeo attitude of neutrality toward the spirits of the dead is due rather to the fact that they attribute almost all misfortune to active human agency. If one is to look for evidences of ambivalence in Cubeo feelings toward kin the proper source is in the imputation of sorcery and not in the attitudes toward ghosts.

## THE CONCEPT OF POWER

An important concern of all instrumental, as distinct from ethical, religions is power, the grasp of power and its control and manipulation. Power, to be sure, is valued for its direct application to common human interests in food, safety, and the overcoming of enemies, to name but a few, but it would be rash to underestimate the sheer attractiveness of power acquired and power used for its own sake. In Cubeo religious thought, too, power is both instrumental and compelling in its own right. In keeping with the moderate role of power in social and political life, however, the power theme in religion is a muted one. The Cubeo do not attribute to anyone, man or supernatural being, grandiose powers. If anything, the Cubeo are rather conscious of the limitations of power. We have seen this in how little power they attribute to the Ancients. *Kúwai* is a more telling illustration of the point, for this being ordinarily fails when he is truly manipulating power, while his successes are in the ordinary relations

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of teaching people useful things. In the Cubeo allocation of moderate powers among men and supernatural beings, men get their fair share, so to speak.

The native term for power is *parié*, a term that applies to the strength and vigor of a warrior, the magical potency of the ancestor flutes and trumpets, the awesome fierceness of the jaguar, as well as to the clearly magical powers of the shaman or of the layman who has learned how to cure and to practice sorcery. The term simply means "able" and is the verb in the common expression "I can do it." Thus, the distinction we might draw between natural and supernatural powers is not one that is recognized by the Cubeo.

The shaman is the principal holder of *parié*. He may be known as *pariékokü* (man of power) or as *yavi* (jaguar). By either term the Cubeo conjure up the image of power. As *pariékokü* it is power in a neutral sense; as *yavi* it is power in the aspect of dread. Every *yavi* is a *pariékokü* but not every *pariékokü* is a *yavi*. The *yavi* is the supreme shaman, the one who can take the form of a jaguar, who consorts with jaguars, who maintains the jaguar as a dog. The *pariékokü* is one who has learned how to cure as well as to kill but, not being a jaguar, is a second-class practitioner. Every sib has its *pariékokü*, but *yavis* are scarce. To distinguish between the *yavi* and the *pariékokü*, the Cubeo say of the former *urdna pariékokü*, *urdna* meaning "big." It is because of this Cubeo usage that I have thought it advisable to discuss shamanism under the heading of "power."

The power of the shaman is called *parikü*, a noun form with the connotation of a substance. When a shaman has accomplished an exceptional act it is his *parikü*, it is said, that enabled him to do it. The great shamans control the weather, for the most part unpleasantly. They bring storms, hail, fog, strong winds. They can lower the depths of a river as great as the Vaupés. When the river bottom of the smaller Cuduiarí is exposed, however, the attribution is to natural causes. The play of the shaman with weather and the river level is only a demonstration of his power and has no sinister motive. Shamanistic power also includes the control of tutelary spirits. Generally, a shaman controls a number of insect spirits who do his bidding, in a minor capacity, however, as scouts and as messengers. A shaman on the Cuduiarí once found a little girl who had blundered into the forest and become lost. He claimed he had sent an insect to look for her.

Another demonstration of shamanistic power is in the battles the shamans wage against one another. A *yavi*, I was told, has a different

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A yavi, I was told, has a different kind of *umé*, one that he can send to attack the *umé* of another. An injured *umé* sickens and dies and so does its owner. The people I spoke to did not believe that an ordinary person could be attacked through his *umé*. As a result of these shamanistic battles some strong *yavis* emerge with extraordinary reputations for power and aggressiveness. The *yavi* is the single truly aggressive figure among the Cubeo. The ordinary *paričhokū* is not. The fact of being called "jaguar" puts the shaman beyond the human pale and allows him scope for unbridled ferocity. The benevolent acts of the *yavi*, his skill as a curer, his ability to find things, and inexplicably his ability to ripen fruits – the subject of ancestral rites – weigh relatively little against his reputation as a "killer."

The relationship between the *yavi* and the jaguar never became fully clear to me, perhaps because my information came only from laymen. No *yavi* was willing to talk to me about his work. Some informants said flatly that every jaguar was a *yavi* or the dog of a *yavi*, or a jaguar into which a *yavi*'s soul had entered. When a *yavi* dies his ghost spirit (*dekókū*) becomes a jaguar. According to this view, the jaguar is feared because he is not an animal but a fiercely predatory man. Other informants explained that there are both ordinary jaguars and jaguars who are *yavis*. Both views agreed on the point that the fierceness of the jaguar is of human origin. Those who believed in ordinary jaguars said those were the kind that might run from a man. The *yavi* is ordinarily in human form and assumes the jaguar form by putting on a jaguar skin. One man said that it is not the man inside but the jaguar skin that eats the victim. There is also the view that it is the *umé* of the *yavi* that assumes a jaguar form and prowls about at night devouring people. One *yavi*, it is said, had his daughter pick the bits of human flesh from his teeth with the fang of a serpent. This young woman would steal from the manioc gardens. The women caught her at it and beat her. The next night the *umé* of her father ate them all. Another feature of the *yavis* is that they are never solitary. They travel in packs and they form a college for the training of recruits.

The story is told of an attack on a house at dawn by *pudnyavíwa* (jaguar people) who ate up all the people but one man who had hidden on a rafter. Having eaten, the jaguars took off their skins and went outside to fetch water. The man jumped down and threw all the skins into the fire. When the jaguars returned they rushed to save the burning skins. Those that succeeded left the house as jaguars and those that did not had to leave as humans.

A short time ago a *Bahúkiwa* was clawed by a jaguar. He returned

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The river anaconda is angered at newborn children and at menstruating women but not at any particular child or woman. The anger of spirits is, finally, direct. Men are always suspected of conspiring, but nonhuman spirits never do.

Finally, Cubeo religion includes a concept of inanimate power, of power resident in substances, places, and personal states of being. I found no articulate Cubeo theory as to inanimate power. *Parúkũ* is clearly personalized power and *parié* is limited in its applicability to objects intimately associated with the Ancients, the flutes and trumpets in particular. But clearly there is power in pigments, feathers, animal bones, plants, the toenail of the armadillo (which the medicine man uses to bring rain), human hair, leg ligatures, and a host of ceremonial objects. With respect to these substances it is clear that we are dealing with assorted beliefs and practices that are both old and widespread throughout the tropical forests of South America, not to mention beliefs that are close to universal.

Genipa (*vei*) is the most potent pigment. It is applied to the hands and feet as gloves and socks and is run coarsely down the back to create a deliberately crude covering rather than a design. The Cubeo are sensitive to neatly executed designs and normally take great pains with body painting, using special sticks as well as die rollers to stamp a design. The crudeness of genipa painting is to differentiate it from body decoration and to emphasize its purely magical character. Men do use genipa paint, but it is primarily a protective pigment for women and children. A menstruating woman will always coat her back with genipa as a safeguard against animal spirits. She will coat her hands with it when handling sacred substances such as coca and tobacco. Applied to infants, genipa wards off influences that might impede growth. Women say only that genipa is good for the skin, but this is typical evasiveness.

Red pigment (*monhá*) has more of a decorative function. It is applied by men and women with great care. Applied in spots it is jaguar magic to protect infants, and applied crudely it is a protection of sorts against the *yaví*.

It was never clear to me whether the love charm *pedidya*, a blossom worn in the hair, was intended to work by magic or merely by suggestion. The most effective love potions, carefully safeguarded by the women even against the prying anthropologist, are secret and magical.

Among ceremonial objects the *behórũ* is a rattle lance some three meters long with a hollow chamber at the top in which pebbles have been placed. It can bring rain, one informant said, but it was not used by the Cubeo for that purpose.

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used by the Cubeo for that purpose. It is a ceremonial pennant and it accompanies the dead as a walking stick in the afterlife. Dancing staffs are hollowed cylinders that are stamped on the ground to produce a booming sound and are known as the "good sticks." They have a beneficent effect upon a dance, but whether by magic or by association is not clear. The elaborate coronets of feathers (*mápena*) are apparently sacred. They are handled with great care and kept in a special box. While a woman will touch the *mápena* she will not actually handle them. I did not, however, learn the Cubeo theory of their sacredness. Musical instruments may be regarded as quasi-sacred because they invoke birds and insects but are subject to no taboos (except for the ancestral flutes and trumpets). Flageolets embody the butterfly (*tatárako*). They are played by sounding *ta tara ta tara*, the sound, the Cubeo say, of the butterfly. The large eight-reed Panpipe is *kawá* – the vulture whose hovering form the Cubeo visualize as overhanging the mourning ceremony. Woven ligatures (*ñiknáwa*) worn by men below the knee and daubed with a salmon-pink pigment have several magical effects.[8] Worn at drinking parties they both hasten intoxication and promote long life. They flesh out the calf – a symbol of growth and for the Cubeo aesthetically pleasing.

The association between intoxication and long life as expressed in the ligature seems more than casual. For the Cubeo, intensity of feeling is the goal of ceremonial life. Excitement is one form of the sacred for the Cubeo; perhaps it is the most important expression of sacredness they know. This is borne out by the prominence of excitants in Cubeo religion. Tobacco, coca, *mihí*, chicha, capsicum peppers, all have sacred value for the Cubeo. The potency attributed to an excited state cannot be said to be magical nor can it be attributed to spirits. They have a bird as the spirit of intoxication but this bird does not cause intoxication – it presides over it. The religious significance of intensification of feeling is not an instrumental one in any narrow sense of the word. One can only state this as an impression, since the Cubeo did not put it into words. Intensification of feeling stands for them simply as an assertion of life. That is why, it seems to me, the Cubeo can assert that the salmon-colored ligature is for long life and for drunkenness both.

[8] Women also used to wear these garters in the days before the petticoat became common.

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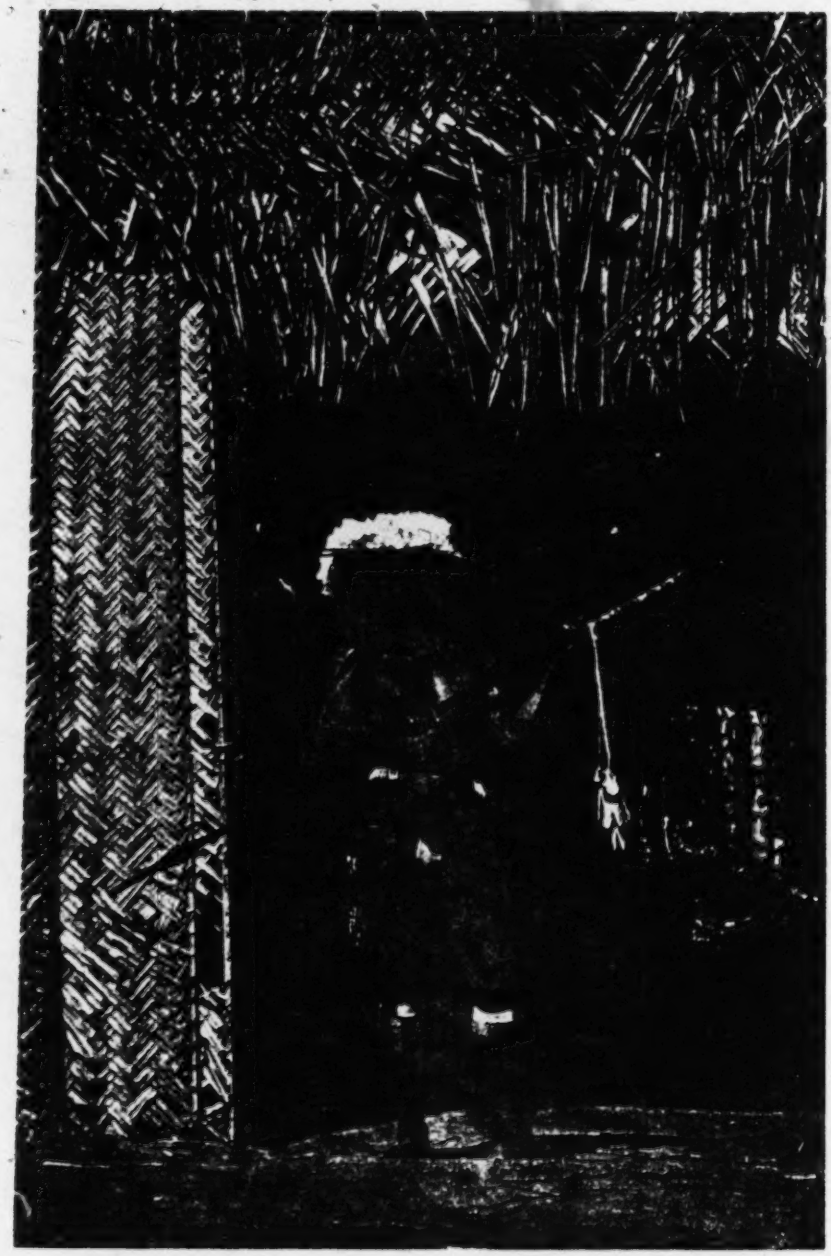

A Tukano shaman in festival regalia with his kurubeti pebble stave.

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437 would be carefully inspected by Indians we met later, who would disregard them if they considered them inferior work.

533 Sometimes we would play music we had recorded in the Amazon to
171 see what the highlanders' reaction was. Then we would play classical music or jazz. Usually a simple tune or one with a distinct rhythm conveyed something to them. There was some interest in Bach or Mozart, but none in Brahms. As for their own music, once we had shown our interest or they had heard the play-back on the recording machine, they all – with the exception of the Kogi – would play to us for hours, and the range of sounds and instruments was astonishing.

Astonishing, too, was the realization that an Indian besides being a cultivator, a hunter, a fisherman, a boat-maker and house-builder, besides knowing the tribal legends and myths and the arts of basket weaving, wood carving and design, was also a musician, not only playing but himself making, with considerable skill, a wide range of musical instruments.

534 Among the Tukano alone we counted fifteen such instruments. A jingle-rattle is admittedly not very difficult to play, but it requires skill to make one and to design it so that each shell produces a certain note. A panpipe or a deer-bone flute may not be difficult to make, but it takes practice and determination to play one.

534 The Indian is deeply involved in the natural world about him, and just
• 778 as he incises on a calabash the representation of a beetle or a frog, he will try to imitate the calls of birds or the sounds of the forest. All his instruments
562 reflect this forest environment: snail and tortoise shells, deer-bones, nut-
171 shells and gourds. But his music is also deeply involved with myth and ritual. We found the giant *jurupari* flutes were never placed where women could see them. They were used during the ceremony to call their god. When the women heard the flutes, booming like alpine horns in the distance, they fled into the forest, not daring to return till the flutes had been returned to the stream bed. The sacred significance of many of the instruments may account for their elaborate designs.

000 Very little is known of the origin of Indian, as of all music. Perhaps it first evolved during religious ceremonies, through the waving of a stick in the air or its being beaten on the floor; or perhaps through the rustle of marsh reeds held in the hand and shaken as Severiano did during the ceremony of Canta Haí. This may have been the first sound to suggest the use of nutshells and seed-rattles.

773 When we were living with the Casacará-Motilon Alec Clark told us that
171 the Indians put the mark of a stag's antlers on their foreheads to bring them
825 luck. He also gave us his interpretations of the legend of the puma and the deer, from whom the clan was descended. In the Amazon the shaman is said
[777] to be able to disappear at will and travel through the forest in the guise of a puma, because this animal was the most dreaded of all. Both these animals